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In connection with this problem, I shall enumerate below the digits from one to ten in Mossi, in closely related languages (Dagomba, Nankana /Nankanse/), and in derivative tongues (Dagari, Boura, Gourma).

	Mossi	Dagomba	Nankana	Dagari	Boura	Gourma
Un . .	Yéméri	N'Dan	Yendé	Yen	Gni	Ieudi
Deux .	Yibou	Niyi	Yi	Ayi	Niyé	Lié
Trois .	Tabo	Nta	Ntan	Ata	Ngata	Ita
Quatre	Nasé	Nahé	Anasé	Ana	Anasi	Ina
Cinq .	Nou	Anou	Anou	Anou	Nganou	Imou
Six . .	Ayobé	Ayobo	Ayobé	Ayobe	Vendenta	Ilouoba
Sept .	Yopoï	Ayopoué	Ayopoué	Ayopoué	Nantanasé	Illélé
Huit .	Ani	Ani	Ani	Ani	Nané (ou Nani)	Ni
Neuf .	Aoué	Aoué	Aoué	Voué	Noo	Ia
Dix . .	Piga	Pia	Pia	Pié	Pi	Piga

174 2. The second question is a priori less difficult to solve. It concerns the time when the Yarsé or Ouangarbé settled in Mossi territory.

Marc and Moulins do not agree on this score.

Speaking of Mossi territory, Marc says (op. cit., p. 142), "It was most probably its reputation as a peaceful land that lured the Mandé-Dioula /Diula/ or present-day Yarsé about the middle of the eighteenth century. According to the native traditions summarized by Binger, some Mandé-Dioula who were established in Ségou and who had taken a stand against N'Golo, victor over Sogoné, fled in fear of retaliation after the death of Sogoné in 1754 and came to settle among the Mossi. N'Golo attempted to pursue them, and twice came and attacked the Mossi. Both expeditions failed, and N'Golo died in the course of the second one in 1787."

/465/ According to Marc, the Yarsé would thus be Mandé-Dyoula /sic/ from Ségou who settled in Mossi territory in the eighteenth century. Moulins has quite a different idea.

11: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1964
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CHAPTER THREE

1. Dim Delobson, pp. 8-9.
2. Crozat, p. 4849.
3. *Ibid.* The Mossi always use multiples of three in connection with masculine affairs.
4. Archives, Document 15G-190 (1897-98, Haute Volta).
5. Dim Delobson, p. 37. The difficulty here is caused by the Mossi words and their meanings. For example, the words for "God" are Ouennam and Ouende. The words for "sun" are the same. The ethnologists can speculate about whether the Mossi once worshiped the sun or whether a high god has evolved into a supreme deity. But the Mossi do not agree that their use of the same words for God and for the sun implies that they believe God is the sun, or that the sun is their God. It should be pointed out *inter alia* that many African peoples are not awed by their gods and grant them human feelings and attributes. The Mossi regard their supreme being Ouennam as an otiose deity who is not too concerned with human affairs. It is the ancestors who provide the sanctions for good conduct.
6. It seems certain that Ibn Battuta saw a similar salutation in Mali: "The Negroes are of all people the most submissive to their king, and the most abject in their behavior before him. They swear by his name, saying *Mansa Souliman ki* [the Emperor Souliman has commanded]. If he summons any of them while he is holding an audience in his pavilion, the person summoned takes off his clothes and puts on worn garments, removes his turban and dons a dirty skullcap, and enters with his garments and trousers raised knee-high. He goes forward in an attitude of humility and dejection, and knocks the ground hard with his elbows, then stands with bowed head and bent back, listening to what he says. If anyone addresses the king and receives a reply from him, he uncovers his back and throws dust over his head and back, for all the world like a bather splashing himself with water. I used to wonder how it was that they did not blind themselves" (Gibb, p. 327; cf. Mangin, p. 15).

Obviously, Ibn Battuta found this salutation distasteful. Most Europeans feel the same way about the Mossi salute. If a Moaga visited England, he might be equally struck by the sight of a great soldier or statesman kneeling before a *woman ruler* and being touched on the shoulder with a sword.
7. It is interesting to compare this account with Ibn Battuta's description of Mansa Souliman, king of Mali: "On certain days the sultan holds audiences in the palace yard, where there is a platform under a tree, with three steps; this they call the *pempi*. . . . The sultan comes out of a door in the corner of the palace, carrying a bow in his hand and a quiver on his back. On his head he has a golden skullcap bound with a gold band which has narrow ends shaped like knives, more than a span in length. His usual dress is a velvety red tunic, made of the European fabric called *mutanfas*. The sultan is preceded by his musicians, who carry gold and silver guimbris (two-stringed guitars), and behind him come three hundred armed slaves. He walks in a leisurely fashion, affecting a very slow movement, and even stops from time to time. On reaching the *pempi*, he stops and looks round the assembly, then ascends it in the sedate manner of a preacher ascending a mosque pulpit. As he takes his seat, the drums, trumpets, and bugles are sounded" (Gibb, p. 326).
8. It is possible that the Mossi either borrowed this tradition from Mali or shared part of the Mali king complex, for Ibn Battuta reports that a similar rite was held in Mali during the fourteenth century. He says that when the ruler entered the pavilion for the morning ceremony, "two saddled and bridled horses are brought, along with two goats, which they hold to serve as a protection against the evil eye" (Gibb, p. 326).

11: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1964
FA28 Mossi FA28

15. *Ibid.*, p. 673. 16. Delafosse, II, 128–29.
17. Binger, II, 502. 18. Crozat, p. 4849.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 4822.

20. The structure of the Mossi kingdoms and their relationship with the autonomous principalities make it difficult to determine the exact number of districts within each unit. For example, the Mossi people always claimed that the Mogho Naba of Ouagadougou was sovereign over "333" chiefs (cf. Binger, I, 502). However, since the Mossi always associate the number 3 with males, any number giving a multiple of threes is suspect. Binger stated that some of the chiefs referred to as part of the 333 were no more than village chiefs. However, Tauxier (*Le Noir du Soudan*, p. 567), describing the kingdom of Ouagadougou, states, "At the top of this hierarchy is the king, the Mogho Naba, paramount chief of the Mossi, residing at Ouagadougou. To give at least an idea of the relative importance of this empire, without going further than, say, the cercle of Ouagadougou, there were eight provinces comprising 300 *cantons* [districts], 5,000 villages or small towns, and 861,700 inhabitants."

While voicing the myth that the Mogho Naba had "under his control 333 chiefs or Nabas," Dim Delobson actually gives only about 150 chiefs in his list of district and other chiefs (pp. 46, 288–97). It was impossible for me to get any idea of the number of chiefs, because the Mossi hierarchy has changed radically since 1905.

21. Dim Delobson, p. 63.
22. Cheron, "Contribution," p. 651.
23. The Mossi did not acknowledge the defeat of Mogho Naba Wobogo by the French until the Ouidi Naba surrendered to the invaders and installed a ruler they had chosen.
24. Archives, Document 1G-334. Lambert describes Karfo as "a curious figure who unfortunately is not well known."
25. Binger, I, 465.
26. Dim Delobson, pp. 15–45, *passim*.
27. It appears that the monarchs found fault with their district chiefs most readily when they had sons or other relatives in need of districts to govern. Since a possessor of the nam could not be deprived of it while alive, he had to be accused of some crime and executed. Koabga was replaced as Doulougou Naba by Lassanne Congo (called Naba Kouliga), a son of the Mogho Naba. On the other hand, when Naba Pusha of Nobere district fled rather than commit suicide or start a civil war, he was replaced by his own brother, who became Naba Soulougou.
28. Dim Delobson, p. 44. 29. Cheron, "Contribution," p. 655.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Mangin, p. 25.
2. Mangin does not discuss rape, but reported that an "abductor" was beaten and put in irons. The girl was returned to her family, and if she gave birth to a child, it was killed (pp. 26–27).
3. Dim Delobson, p. 55.
4. Most of my informants state quite clearly that the district chiefs did not have the right to impose the death penalty, but could do so if they were discreet about it and did not take advantage of their subjects. But Dim Delobson states: "Contrary to what people generally believe, the Kombere—the chief of the *canton* [district]—also had the power of life and death over his subjects. How many persons have been put to death only because they were wealthy? How many village chiefs have been killed by the district chiefs in their territories without the Mogho Naba's intervention?" (pp. 55–56).
5. Dim Delobson (p. 56) insists that justice was free of charge, but added that